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Six Cultures 000

Studies of Child Rearing



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Laboratory of Human Development

Harvard University

New York and London

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Introduction

- 121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

- 121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

- 121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

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121 theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors at-
114 tempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment
of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult per-
sonality characteristics.

[125] The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from
published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of
coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to
get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in
accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

121 In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Re-
122 search Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss
cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for
the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et
al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of
Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a com-
parative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral
Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out
these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five
of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later
analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States
Public Health Service.

121 Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard,
and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior
investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M.
Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council
Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Develop-
ment at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David
Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell,
and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of
Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the re-
search plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which
were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hil-
dredth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby,
Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R.
A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles,
Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Mur-
dock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith,
R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development,
Harvard University, 1954.

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design^[21] of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājput caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a^[22] National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship.

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias,^[24] the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material.

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

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121) Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

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124) A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

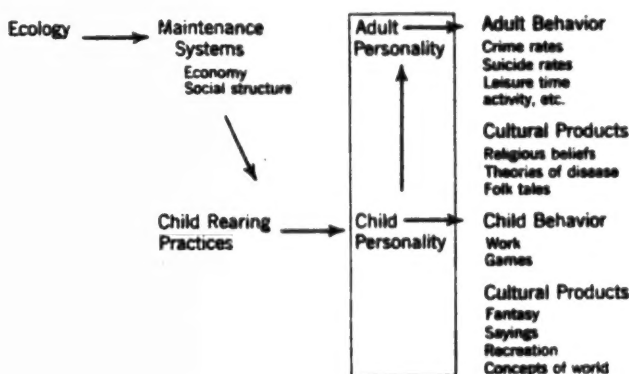
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155) Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

in the house, or whether other relatives are close at hand, will influence a mother's behavior toward her child.

It is assumed that different patterns of child rearing will lead to differences in the personality of children and thus to differences in adult personality. Since personality may only be inferred, the problem of measurement is difficult on both the individual and the cultural level. Individual children may be given tests of various kinds, interviewed or observed. On a cultural level, one may analyze the patterning of child or adult behavior, for example, the games and recreational activity, the rituals or ceremonial life, or one may assess the beliefs about the supernatural, theories of disease, or popular folk tales in terms of personality dimensions.

The chart presented below indicates this conceptual system in a simple manner.



To summarize the conceptual background in another way, the researchers viewed ecology, economics, and social and political organizations as setting the parameters for the behavior of the agents of child rearing. They viewed child behavior as an index of child personality and adult behavior and beliefs and values as indices of adult personality. The causal relationships implied in this scheme are open to discussion, and such discussions, with present available knowledge, ultimately end with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg.

This volume presents the cultural material. Subsequent publications will present the analysis of the individual measures: the mother inter-

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- 121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide*, that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

- 128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—the *ethnographic background*, the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training*. In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

- 121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

problem of the development of internal controls which have been variously labeled as guilt, conscience, and super-ego. 121

It was the conviction of the researchers that the areas of study had to be limited and clearly defined if standardized material was to be collected. Chapter 1 of the *Field Guide* is a description of the "systems" of behavior which were chosen for study and the hypotheses which the investigators hoped to test. It is impossible to include a detailed description of the theory in this introduction, but in order to understand the material presented in this volume it is necessary to at least present a summary of the behavior systems and the nature of the hypotheses.*

The nine behavioral systems include succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression. In the most general terms, succorance is defined as asking others for help; nurturance, as giving help or emotional support; self-reliance, as doing things for one's self; achievement, as striving to meet internal standards of excellence; responsibility, as performing one's expected role duties; obedience, as attempting to meet the demands of others; dominance, as attempting to change other's behavior; sociability, as making friendly approaches to other individuals; aggression, as hurting others. It was assumed that each of these systems of behavior would exist in some form and degree in every society in a recognizable form and could best be identified as responses to specific universal situations. For example, given a situation in which an individual encountered difficulty, whether he asked for help or solved the problem himself would indicate the relative strength of his succorance or, in contrast, his self-reliance. A measure of nurturance would be the frequency of the spontaneous giving of help or the reaction to requests for help or the perception that others need help. 121
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Returning to the present volume, in describing the adult culture of each society we have included material which we consider relevant to these nine behavior systems.

The chapter on social control is included because it gives information on the frequency of brawls, fights, crimes, and other conflicts and describes the techniques which the society has devised either for preventing such conflicts from arising or for stopping existing conflict. Comparison of this material gives indices of the expressed aggression of the adults and the existence and type of internalized controls. It will be noted, for example, that the incidence of rape is high in Nyansongo, that litigation is frequent in Khalapur and Nyansongo, 121
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* For a full discussion of behavior systems see Child (1954).

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121 and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or
B Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

626 The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

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128 It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be
B made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The
155 man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less
157 sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

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128 Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing socialization.

socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide*, several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājput child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

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155 all parents and socializers must face at this time. Probably closely associated with this behavior system is training for obedience and respect.

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121 The *Field Guide* contains many hypotheses about the antecedents of aggressive behavior in children and adults and stresses the techniques
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155 used by parents in the handling of aggression as well as their model behavior. Specifically, one hypothesis advanced is that permissiveness
157 on the part of parents for teasing behavior should be reflected in the increase of observable unprovoked aggressive behavior on the part of children and adults. Is it indeed true that the Tarongan child who is "playfully" teased by his parents and other adults from early childhood instigates aggressive behavior more frequently than a Rājput child whose parents do not "playfully" tease their children?

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121 A second hypothesis concerning the handling of aggression states
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155 that children will be less apt to retaliate to aggression if parents and socializing agents punish any expressiveness with regard to anger. Again, the Khalapur Rājput child whose mother dislikes all expression of emotion, even excessive joy, and the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child who is taught that he will sicken and die if he eats while angry should be less aggressive when provoked than the children of Orchard Town.* It will be noted that a distinction is made between unprovoked and provoked aggression. A further distinction is made with regard to instrumental aggression, where a person tends to select aggressive means for attaining his ends. Comparisons between the handling of aggression in childhood may also be used to explore hypotheses as to the conditions which lead to the displacing of aggression to others, the use of fantasy to express anger or the projection of one's own desires to hurt others. Here for consequent measures one can turn to theories of disease and the nature of the supernaturals. The theory would predict that those societies which punish aggression most severely would project their anger into the supernatural world and believe in dangerous and malevolent beings or attribute superhuman evil capacity to humans and believe in sorcery or witchcraft. To date, the best socialization variables for predicting the belief in witches and sorcerers is a combination of polygyny and the severe punishment for sex and aggression (Whiting, 1959). Of our societies, the Nyansongans are the most ridden with the belief in these superhuman individuals. Their treatment of aggression is therefore of particular interest. It is also of interest to speculate whether there is some relation between the Tarongan parents' treatment of aggression and teasing behavior and

* For further discussion of the hypotheses regarding aggression, see the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*, pp. 18-22.

their belief in whimsical spirits who must be avoided and not annoyed.

Each monograph on socialization also includes an extended section on techniques used by the socializing agent. Our theory stresses the importance of rewards and punishments for the specific types of acts included in the nine behavior systems. It includes, however, theories as to the differential effect of various types of rewards and punishments and the conditions under which they are administered. Rewards may be material, such as food or money, or immaterial, giving love and acceptance or praise and prestige. Privileges may also be used as rewards. All types may be given after good behavior or used to incite desired behavior.

Punishments depend on two types of sanctions: injury or abandonment which may have as referents several types of agents—parents or authority figures, peers, the self, or supernatural agents.

These rewards and punishments may be given for different reasons. The locus of evaluation may be a specific response of the child, some consequence of his action, or the child himself as a person. In other words, one may praise a child because he does a chore well, because he has helped his mother by doing the chore, or because he is a good boy.

The nature and strength of internal controls—mechanisms which keep an individual from breaking the rules of a society—are thought to be related to techniques and agents of socialization as well as to the strength of a child's identification with the same and opposite sex parents (Whiting and Child, 1953; Whiting, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Bacon, Child and Barry, in press). To determine the strength of these internal controls we hoped to observe the differences in children's behavior in the presence and absence of socializing agents. On a societal level, we predicted that when a boy's identification with the same sex parent is weak, there will be a higher incidence of crime.

We expected to find that authority figures would be important as sanction agents in the adult culture: when there was marked differentiation of authority within the nuclear family; when discipline was carried out by or in the name of the head of the house; and when responsibility and obedience training were emphasized. We expected peers to be important agents when there was little differentiation of authority within the family, when the right of discipline was not focused and self-reliance training was emphasized. If these hypotheses are correct, we would expect consequent differences in the social control systems.

For most of the societies, the period from 6 to 10 emphasizes responsibility training. A comparison of the chores assigned to boys and

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866 girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājput̃s believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

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561 The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

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121 In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

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114 The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they chose to study.

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121 Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these. 121

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Taira

[P 363]

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Taira: ∞∞

An Okinawan Village



Thomas W. Maretzki

Hatsumi Maretzki

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About the Authors

Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki chose the village of Taira on the northeast coast of Okinawa. Thomas Maretzki was an advanced graduate student in Anthropology at Yale; his wife, a graduate of the University of Hawaii who had worked for one year on the staff of the Gesell Institute's nursery school in New Haven, Connecticut. The Maretzkis rented half a house in the village. They were assisted in their work by Nariyuki Agarie, a graduate of the State University of Iowa and subsequently a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, and by Kiyoshi Yogi of Naha. Although the Maretzkis did not have children to speed their participation in community life, Mrs. Maretzki's knowledge of Japanese and her exceptional gift with young children were invaluable aids. She seldom moved about the village without an entourage of small, devoted children. [114]

The Maretzkis returned to Okinawa in 1960. Unfortunately time did not permit the incorporation in this monograph of any data collected on this later expedition. Thomas Maretzki is now teaching at the University of Hawaii. [123]

Part I

The Ethnographic Background



Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japanese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus.

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The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries,

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[131] a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
[648] and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

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[174] Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
[172] original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place
predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from
the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these
theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, character-
istic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are men-
[177] tioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
[177] is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
[174] (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which
the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia
(Cole, 1915:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a com-
mon proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954).
This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under
the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex
into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not
the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by re-
mains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
[648] until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
[175] the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward
China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom
of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Even-
tually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty
over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa partici-
pated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated
through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It
is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a
peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and
abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
[175] dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
[177] islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
[648] time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an over-
whelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of
Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

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home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105
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The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105
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Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. [101]
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LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197
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191 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

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[77] Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

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191 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first, soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

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197 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

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is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152
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THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY
AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 621
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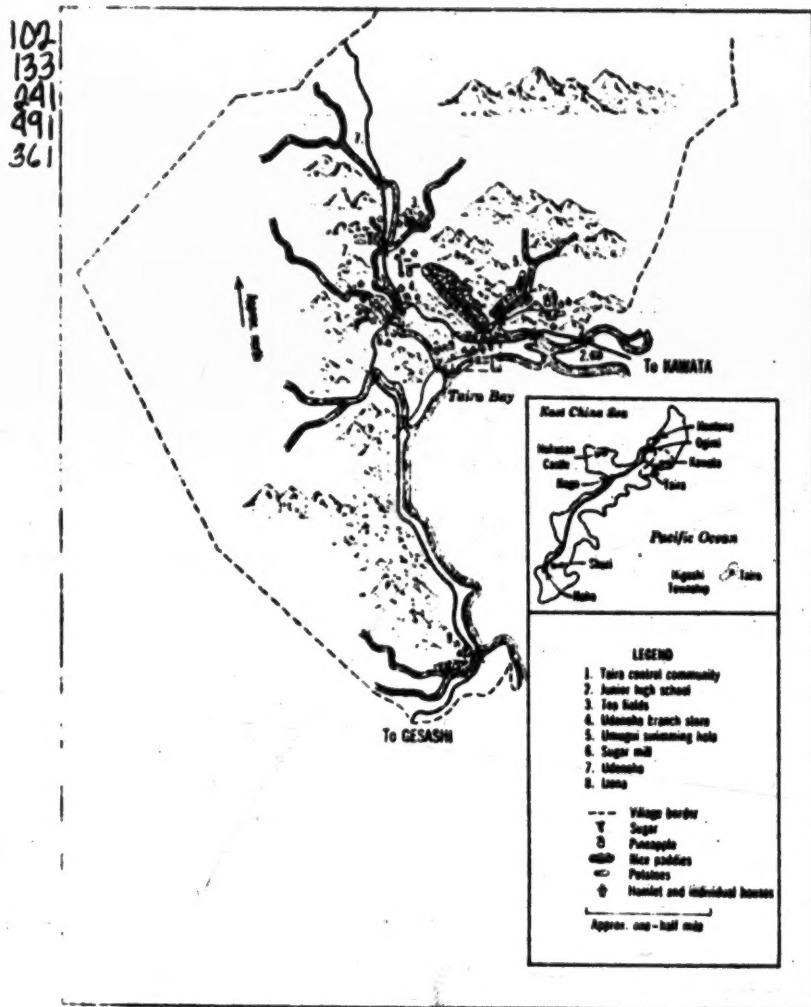
Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173
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According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendants of these settlers are 182
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173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
terrelated people.

000 Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of



Map 1. Taira village (Iigashi Township).

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Between 1905 and 1895, when the Court life at the old Capital of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

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778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great
648 upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, fol-
722 lowing threats of United States troops' invasion, did not reach this
621 northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi
township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the
"terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages
to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions
they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals
lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions
to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a
meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among
the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared
648 the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages
729 were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of
621 Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of
farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand,
the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent
a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests
[185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and
poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes
of economic readjustment.

173 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some
648 of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including
729 Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan,
621 and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in
Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II.
Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent
person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of
the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several chil-
dren in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as
infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japa-
nese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any
serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed dur-
ing the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the
[311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, al-
though rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland,
admittedly mostly of poor quality.

000 The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

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the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen. [107] [162] [24]

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes. 361 133 [243]

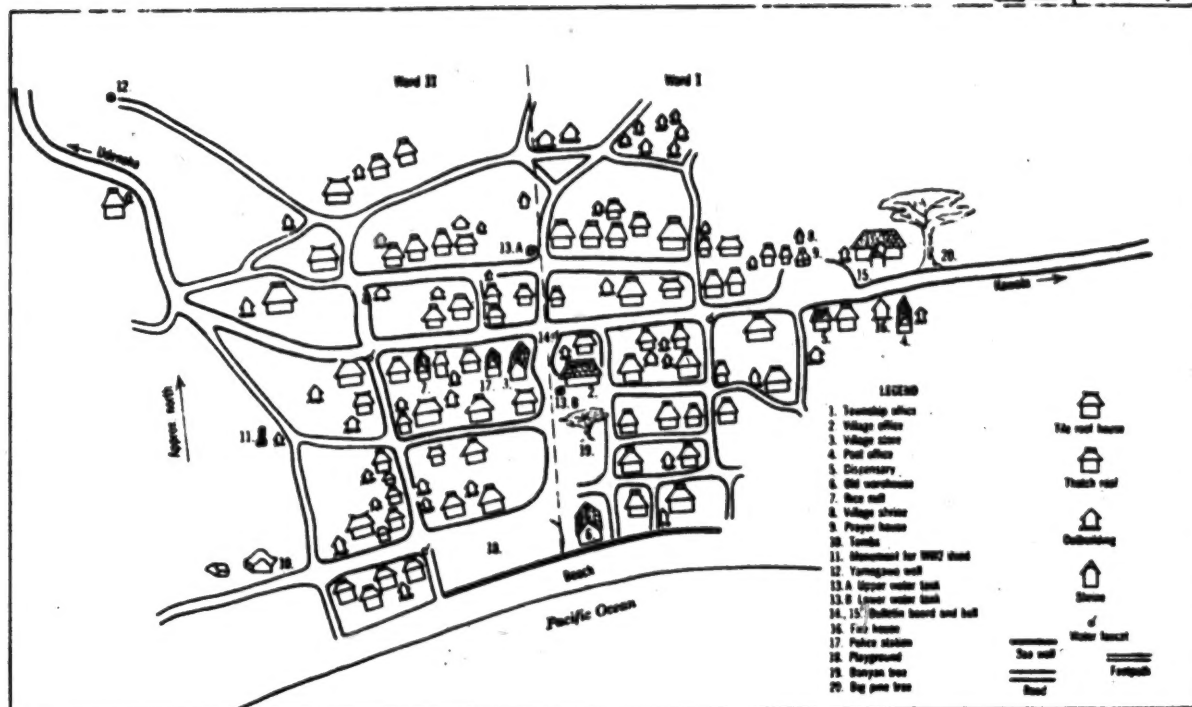
In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands. [49]

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them. 361 [363]

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village. 363 137 727

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta- 36

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.



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tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary.

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store.

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors.

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings.

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war.

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile

- 378 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing
 312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
 365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
 [482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
 [857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the
 two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the
 children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot
 surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.
- 361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat
 sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Chil-
 dren are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach
 to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
 [764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
 [211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.
- 487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
 [133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst
 depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy
 rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
 [491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata,
 the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road
 where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a mis-
 step on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.
- 312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
 [857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
 [487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this
 path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves
 as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river of-
 fers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
- [296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the
 houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes
 pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete,
 near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were in-
 stalled, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.
- 857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
 [484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any
 child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accom-
 pany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions ex-
 tend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the
 course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and
 water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect.
 On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand
 is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back
 to some other area inland.
- 137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

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various one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Pandanus bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature. 132

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132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural seasons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of
731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

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CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291
[097] 296

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292
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Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302
[097] (305)

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302
[305] for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they have a stubby beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291
293 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

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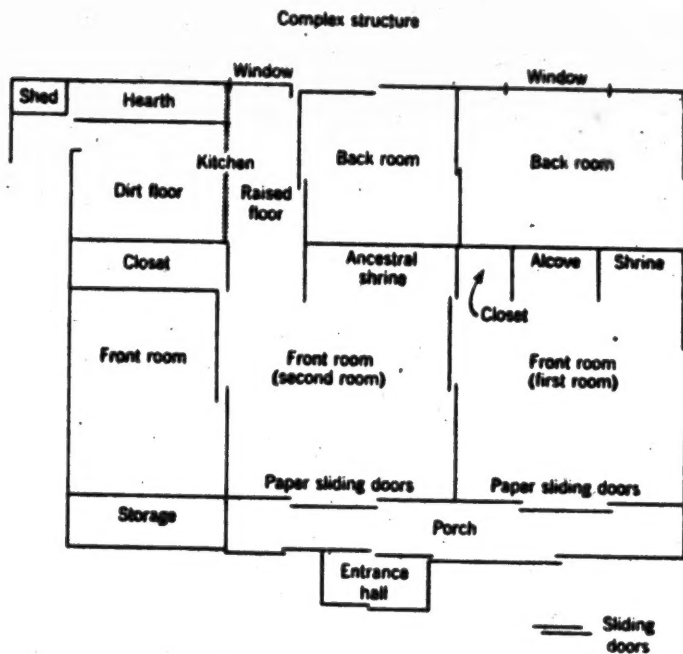
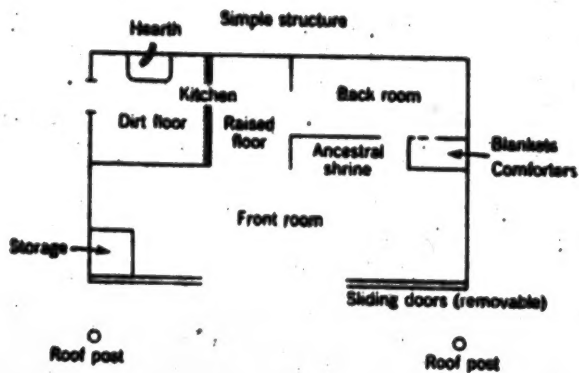


Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

341 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

[356] The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need replacement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

[51] Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has
353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes
769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During
[822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and
[516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage
353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during
[356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

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There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, 513
the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since
the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three
members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always
sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them.
When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the
father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an
older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in
another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with
younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and
an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually
sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school
age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep to-
gether at one house.

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to 352
school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large
houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren
of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are 353
kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their
"first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the
war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many
families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and news-
papers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown
Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan.

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper 342
screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on 356
before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not
last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in
trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of
the year.

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where 342
most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An 264
informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in 354
the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide
heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest
families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use
pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal.

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage oc- 415
curs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the
grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups,
which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but
it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and [412]
inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do

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415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they ^{Children do} find broken
897 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[196] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyuan
government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce
brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of
stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A
visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken
off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet
before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the
kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk
to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There
may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equip-
ment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left
around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here
women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean
paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[514] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[361] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a time-
piece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

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an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. School-children do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

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[462] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

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515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

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[438] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

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264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

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264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

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soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512
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Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. [62]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512
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The young men and women have their get-togethers at the club-house in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512
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512 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six
513 and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet
433 potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are
additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar,
pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home
consumption.

311 Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow,
243 the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for
244 sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and
is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between
valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the
steep sides of mountains.

311 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine
423 whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely sub-
241 sist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land
and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the

range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only
[433] 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own
as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good
rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet
enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned,

[511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra
[433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew
enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes.

Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet

potatoes.

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But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [792] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[799] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is deter-
mined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which [476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and

[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that school-children can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially [782] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the [264] kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined [251] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled [256] and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually [262] fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones [231] cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved. [251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244
Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm 251
lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still 514
used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised 462
by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244
Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243
for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy
potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All 249
this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is
greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249
March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after ar-
rangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed.
Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, 474
who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-
operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women
carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The 402
operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small,
diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others
to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molas-
ses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots
until it becomes staled. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132
pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433
end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249
ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was
demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too
satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time
and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any mate-
rial results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. 245
Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than
they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop
for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all house- 231
holds in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but 434
few families have more than two; in the central village the average is
about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

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231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a
sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of
stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the
food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut
from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The
small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems
especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for
plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by
them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before
the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations,
which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms,
a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the
worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the
walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be
used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.

[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When
the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their
diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be
raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

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of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen^{only two} are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season. [226] [166]
leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit. [438] [443]

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment. [226] [443] [262]

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyuan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning. [313] [423] [651] [185] [423] [685]

Men and women, and during vacations, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife. [957] [487] [412]

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- 313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the vil-
lage. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—
two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they
sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform
bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle
by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household
works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles,
and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into
money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to
a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bath-
houses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood
to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so
popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with
decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

- 463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive
part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn
their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in
the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are
paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time
resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house
building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice
crop and the New Year.
- 463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend
Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season,
they are given special time off to attend to their fields.
- Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short.
There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help
of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except
that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of
childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with
two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her
back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead.
Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this
is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where
dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed
and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasion-
ally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with
their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men
[342] do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road
building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In
general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or
woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn
over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help
with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles,
sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old
age, most men become economically useless and in other ways con-
tribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even
grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables.
One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took
long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes
in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[155] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus free-
ing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

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and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

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INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

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Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

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Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

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[464] Children under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is required to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the [245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

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621 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost everyone in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

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highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and audited, and reports are made to the members. 474 621

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made. 474 [454]

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since 621 452

Since
621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village
leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan
functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the cen-
tral government. There are many associations and movements which
all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering
to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a
program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement
Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves,
making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is
also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with
improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-
operative and the village government, work together. An individual
may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and ex-
perience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and
the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a
heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their at-
tendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving
agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar de-
velopment, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
154 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be
571 pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the
kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This
helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. 589 [428] 592

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. 556

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

[423] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ."

[426] (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.

[875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427
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Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423
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In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studing on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422
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Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421
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Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

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631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread
over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally
located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administra-
tion. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is
responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has
branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over com-
munities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date.
The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held politi-
cal control over the villages until establishment of Japanese adminis-
tration.
- 632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four
years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be
confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives
who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three
times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appoint-
ments, and to approve the annual budget.
- 632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government
policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with
tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department
acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and
cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this
department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent
who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus. 632 [217]

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change." 622 666 [197]

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec- 666 [592] [575]

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the
[203] warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. Education and experience in the outside world are the most important qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert. 623 555

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group. 623 [592]

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings. 622 624

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we 623 [592] [681]

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623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

[854] 554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting -
ANALYST]

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can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders.

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems.

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago.

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers.

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm

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625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] mar or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] mar have to make a report.

[575] The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[731] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven
on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages
on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief.
The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from
outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every
yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has
a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around
freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he de-
tected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to
operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when
tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to
have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public
to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state
their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people
got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and
scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is
held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village
are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
626 Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people
[867] would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others
think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences.
Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to
a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

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An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
 156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
 [479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone
 who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person
 who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it
 seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation
 of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by
 fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
 577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
 867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
 [177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school train-
 ing before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
 [571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
 common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and
 their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and char-
 acterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we
 found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She
 understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she
 does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the
 little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?"
 In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few com-
 pulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather
 than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in deter-
 mining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals,
 and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, over-
 lapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of
 Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596
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[66]
[67]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591
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The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592
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[65]

592 Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It
[727] is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilineal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilineal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of
554 women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born
[562] male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
 476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other under-
 takings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neigh-
 bors, and members of the same geographical section of the village
 participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal rela-
 tives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters.
 Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there
 are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one
 house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described
 in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan
 becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
 575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
 653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for
 certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried
 young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both
 a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
 185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
 562 ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to
 "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women
 who are in contact with the district and island organization. They
 attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
 the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example,
 [262] they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own
 bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the
 women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one
 work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many
 of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most
 women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are
 easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and
 tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-
 looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization
 similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the
 men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority
 of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's
 Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
 887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
 623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. 562

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554
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As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769
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782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
 562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
 [769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
 562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
 462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
 592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
 [589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died
 during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves
 and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children
 while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked
 the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to
 return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice
 he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even
 old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to
 the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting fire-
 wood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
 562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
 claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his
 [462] wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk
 to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own
 the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the
 village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating
 with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is
 her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family.
 In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and
 hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
 [156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to
 subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimi-
 dated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives
 close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of
 their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all
 money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His
 wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and fol-
 lows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let
 his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over
 them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsi-
 bility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

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the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings.

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives.

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans.

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations.

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of

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562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in
some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally
mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not
proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but ex-
press hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their
work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better
stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at
home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses in-
volved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions
of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as
one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier
times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at
that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard
in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do
periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
[177] which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the
afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that
it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers,
but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for
the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and
food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village
officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the police-
man. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches
in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observa-
tions as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making
him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important
factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-
long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared
that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much
sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The
children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers
on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their
chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played
as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

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as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance. 562 575 [888]

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to care-free diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home. 562 512 [273] [273] [888]

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow. 562 837

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand-parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grand-mother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent. 561 554 593 887 561 554 [596] [576]

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand-mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother" 603 601

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603 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is
601 used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of
156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother"
576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher,
576 school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group
156 and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and
571 above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

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worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many 582
marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal edu-
cation ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five
to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either [428]
because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern,
young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59
marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect;
oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more fre-
quently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible 582
explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time 885
after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even out-
side the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic,
but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore,
there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and mar-
riage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are
mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties
and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is
especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the 582
total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage 593
records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy.
In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most
other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were sug-
gested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems
to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a
woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired
to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only
nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest
sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59,
the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a 582
relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' 178
statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps
prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would
support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of
the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as [113]
reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the mar-
riage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was
about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and
24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 sug-
gested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

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582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593]planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage

Total cases: 59

For the period: 1904-1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE:	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our
fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in
the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationaliza-
[562]tions. The age reversal tends to underscore the relatively high status of women
vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their
^ husbands - ANALYST]

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tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be.

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comradeship between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves.

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure.

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately \$17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly
[178]

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cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she mar-
ried out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura,
1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig [292]
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style
clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony
is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place,
the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken
describes as "undescrivable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even
through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine
which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the
ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talk-
ing amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence.
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of [537]
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged
by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close
to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations.
The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect.
After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such
event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she
changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable
clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of
this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is
able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank
and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the
marriage is consummated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house-
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to 833
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831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth, when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
848 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age.
732 Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

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were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people be-
lieved that this fact added even more proof.

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any
legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his
mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the dis-
tinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children.
Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no
legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may
receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains
legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of
ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot.
One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-
Japanese.

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases
of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for
such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to
live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born
by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man,
formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life
after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, appar-
ently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable inter-
action between the two although they lived separately. The husband
registers such children as his legal offspring.

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate
and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The
township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once
children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least
there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A
husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to
separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient
cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a
settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce al-
though relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce
for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we
found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many
debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members
of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the
unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives al-
most none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient
cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce.

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Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices recognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces. 177 The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons [776] in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that [769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confucian-Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, control many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two [782] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such [784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to [154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although historically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate, they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their [372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

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like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance. 776 782 776 782 342 [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status. 793 562 794 [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and 793

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lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

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While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to conduct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is moving out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

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On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

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For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

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One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796
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Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769
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No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764
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The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764
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[154]
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* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

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765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house
shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white
rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period.
From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the
first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary
of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is
prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious
day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who
have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing
Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They
take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children
are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then
placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose.
Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb be-
long. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, in-
cluding women who have married into another kin group. This cele-
bration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offer-
ings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the
family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after
their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight
of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast
and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short
prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village
[764] have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area alto-
gether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken
to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from
southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was
left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until
relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

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ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot nearby where the car could pull up. 784

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom one turns in case of misfortune.* 766 782 794 769 562 793 756

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the *sanjinsō* or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of the person seeking advice. 791 342

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities. 771 182 621

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.



Chapter 9

Disease and Medical Practice

164 From a world-wide point of view, Okinawa is not one of the most diseased and famine-ridden areas. Still, the statement referring to pre-World War II times that "the inhabitants of the Ryukyus do not enjoy particularly good health" (*Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, 1944, p. 145) applies as well to the present. Although Okinawans have been subject to the special concern and control of both Ryukyuan and American authorities since World War II, general health conditions, particularly in the area of some major diseases, have not materially improved in the past five years. In 1954, 13,318 new cases* of communicable diseases were reported for all of the Ryukyus (*Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands*, vol. II, no. 2, 1954, pp. 176-177), or approximately one person in every 60 was affected. Among these, tuberculosis rated second highest (after venereal diseases), accounting for 2307 new cases or one in approximately every 333 persons. To these figures must be added patients from previous years whose cases are still active, in order to comprehend the severity with which this and other diseases affect the island. A further constant threat is dysentery and Japanese encephalitis, which occasionally affect villages like Taira with sudden epidemics. Another slightly less severe disease of constant concern is trachoma (1583 new cases reported in 1951). Less serious but quite prevalent are skin diseases and intestinal parasites. There are still several new cases of leprosy reported annually for the Ryukyus.

Taira, during our study, was spared any of the dangerous epidemics just mentioned, and even tuberculosis seemed to have a relatively low incidence in the village. There were several cases of pleurisy among some older students, some of whom had to stay home from school for an extended period of time. On the whole, serious communicable

* For a total population of 782,564

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous 1/4-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

[757] frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor
from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her
cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed
freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house
without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in general
[764] are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently
died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased
villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The
doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits
of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who
have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta*, a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help
of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through
visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so
that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or
more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira

[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The
most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of
ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct
connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask
the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases,
then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate
to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family
religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child re-
mains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during
the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which hon-
ors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the
year.

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year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors.

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient.

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father.

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it.

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inoculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as

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744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inoculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

[844] Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[657] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

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who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained
medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay
for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association,
once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more
effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no
stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take
him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal,
one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village
by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. No-
body really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single
mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six
months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded,
when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for
long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational
behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden
headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan [762]
village.



Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

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871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school
system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture;
the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japa-
nese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years
was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese
and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
of Taira's population.

872 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
346 where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary
[871] school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but
3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school
lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school
buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the
elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden build-
ing with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of
simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are lo-
cated in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts
with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school re-
building program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for
sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in
size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on
sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging
roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent
showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, al-
though both pass through the same passageway where boys use the
urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for prin-
cipal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood
are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard
in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many
first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some
older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling
may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after sev-
eral years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it
is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth
organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in
school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

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871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to
[554] the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

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the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. 872
After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first.
Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon,
the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading. 871
arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in 177
the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts [191]
from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The
greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and
writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, fol-
lowed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese
characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers 875
Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every house- 575
hold is a member. Those with children of school age are regular mem-
bers who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5
yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped.
The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, in-
cluding the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young Peo-
ple's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the
school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents
at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers
take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs 875
and in the associations of their own community. Contact between vil- 621
lage leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since [651]
education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80%
of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but
burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government sub- 871
sidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their in- 658
come and average about 515 yen (\$4.30) yearly. Since 1952, govern- 651
ment orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other
taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education;
tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration,
and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for
such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share
of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the re- [632]
sponsibility of an official in the township finance department. During
1954-1955, 310,344 yen (\$2586) were collected by the township in edu-
cation taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen

871 (\$30,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
 658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
 [65] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA
 budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which
 are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are “childlike”—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527
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Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527
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The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is
the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with
everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in ac-
[576] cordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their
heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile
the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they,
or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
574 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries
and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the com-
munity on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories
of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not
served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is
mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add
to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no
262 speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is
broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is
served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is pre-
pared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the
special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast
plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented
in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried
dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or
red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less ex-
pensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during
feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes
and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient
quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot con-
sume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take
home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal
273 atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings,
family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups be-
tween two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the *samisen* (a three-stringed banjolike in-
 533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
 [534] the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
 574 is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
 535 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
 be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
 either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
 people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
 story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
 deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
 under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
 ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
 artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
 simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
 or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
 movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
 around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
 rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
 they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
 [831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
 interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
 the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
 woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
 tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
 [273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
 established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
 called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
 young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
 girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
 by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
 aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
 ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
 home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
 old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
 entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
 273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
 578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
 574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

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would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

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Part II

Child Training



Chapter 12

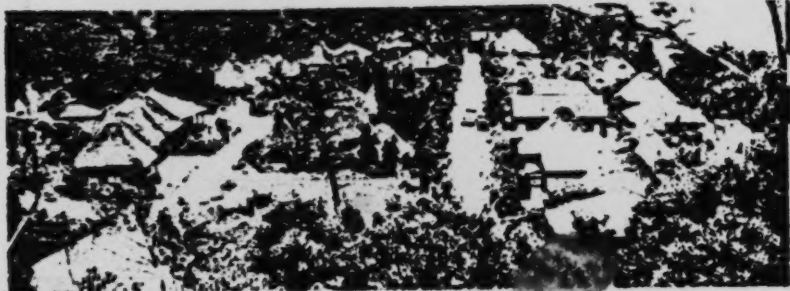
Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annulment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents. Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence in attitude. 842 [583] [586] [595]

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain 843 842

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- 842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
 [843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old peo-
 [593] ple who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
 heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the
 favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the
 cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up
 to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of
 bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
 551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
 553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
 842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
 [177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby
 girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more chil-
 dren. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and
 registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.
- 842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
 744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Oki-
 nawan public health department on this matter, and a few families
 actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
 847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control,
 abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these meas-
 ures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registra-
 tion and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
 ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
 [732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
 [848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
 practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.
- 842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot
 be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field,
 however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus
 the villagers express their theories of conception.
- 843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and
 the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to
 acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
 [461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
 [522] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
 nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the
 male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How
 now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and
 women.
- [164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant
 * Personal communication from public health nurses.



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View of central village, Taira.



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House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.



Cultivating rice.



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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]
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[p 456-B]



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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.



Boy harvesting.



Carrying water while their mother
is recovering from giving birth.

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[296]
[415]

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[482]
→
[312]



[243]
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Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.



Playing house.

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Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. [844]

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. [759]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets. [593]

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

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[853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

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593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

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156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

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[178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket.

[178] This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

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538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

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178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. 875
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- 784
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially 613
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A 782
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind 769
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace-
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a *samisen*. The father of the baby then rises to 533
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 574
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

Coming from the darkness to light,
This baby was received as a treasure
And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the
newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and
wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's 846
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their 769
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is 782
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil
spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs.



Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is
complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is
vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized con-
cretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.*
They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior
on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count)
conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious
gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a
phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japa-
nese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in
nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any
better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows
this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs
foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young
babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly,
with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japa-
nese ideas.

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In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776
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Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597
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Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155
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A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

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845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people
178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain
853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in
853 which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitifull" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special
[262] foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

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There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of inoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being inoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853
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After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846
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467 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

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[887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

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[887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transferring the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

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594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

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fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854
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For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846
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There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

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846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit,
for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus
the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust
and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the
mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor
solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn
in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of
admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to
carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older
sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another
baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight
and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back,
the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother ap-
proaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
852 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey
Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother,
winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously
at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the in-
fant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes,
indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away.
At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little
girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to
carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother
handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and
cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would
remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school,
she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience.
This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came
on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and
the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but
Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yea." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

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855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

854 If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
757 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn
and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often
suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other
older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old.
For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed fre-
quently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers,
although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are
checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are swaddled
so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more
[164] common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during
the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time
to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economic
activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from
every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence
of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured
into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by im-
mersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as
they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with
the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath
takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right out-
side the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a
large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry
the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very
poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied
right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to
the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2
and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time
would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing
so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still un-
trained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by
a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

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herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper. 863

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers. [861]

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863 854 855 863

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a
dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This
is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless
the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however,
they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common
occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on
the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face.
"She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at
the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing
happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her
dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if
she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon
enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and
the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls,
(drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind
and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch
fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned.
(The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the
girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my
mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing
some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate
undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not
impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal
of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty."
As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her
disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly
say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered
with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for
diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe
the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a
child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short
birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter,
pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what
the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile
of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at
it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

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financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!"

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl.

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being re strapped; she just jounced and played with her hands.

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed

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855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
857 baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back.
[285] Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. In-
stinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away
as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had
had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry
her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of
water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the
back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was
attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched
it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of
bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called
crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and
the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere,"
instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother
watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down
to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she
smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground.
The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very
quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had dis-
appeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she
looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her.
The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief
instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing.
Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at
arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman
cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes,
promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their
potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their
catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accom-
pany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and
are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful
and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior
is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

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copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854
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Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862
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862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son
[853] until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination
[861] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent
nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period
of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinacy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" 856 857

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. 853 412 415

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

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told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

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As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadaki-masu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

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Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's bag, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood. 862

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866
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866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
603 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet
his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer
less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the
house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4
or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him
in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older
sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she
happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often
intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult.
The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between chil-
dren who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not
have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily
and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grand-
father whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house)
. . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she
remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his
grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying,
hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman com-
forts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with
their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satis-
faction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the
question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overin-
dulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one
of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a
fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift
the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The
mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing
at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the
house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming
boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother
sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and
started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking
at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see
what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the
mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* [603, 858, 866]

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. [866, 857, 862, 524]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior [155]

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather. [867, 593]

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867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function
as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned
were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward
their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholly on the premise
that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and
the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would
nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-
year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved
and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's
clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child.
He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for
demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to
his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his
grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only
after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of
6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the
older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a
mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears
mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is
belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field
trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the
kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense."
Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training
and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

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are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. [858 861 872] "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. [861 867]

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyahl!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand [857 872]

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857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
 872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There
 is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank
 or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of
 tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kinder-
 garten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized them-
 872 selves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
 876 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of
 her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her
 until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the
 line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by
 putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling
 each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The
 teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile,
 for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen
 attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a
 buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows
 slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with,
 "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with
 deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to
 stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated
 it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ."
 There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious
 concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with
 the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts
 her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to
 restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
 872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
 876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is
 an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but
 the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children,
 she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From
 among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my
 face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool
 thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat
 his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spon-
 taneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick,
 saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face
 and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by
 one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

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nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

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872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

[524] The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

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guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to [i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 872 876

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872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children
crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy
ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich
playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a
cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collect-
ing shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed
and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real les-
sons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things
himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he
desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher;
if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then
goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He
runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he
hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors; how-
ever, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they
are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the
back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well
exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning
horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards.

The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to
hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck
stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults
waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers
to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned
forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires
of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers
screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him,
and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That
was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be
taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down
at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

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On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857
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The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857
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In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857
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Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855
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Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults
241 to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like
[412] knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they
855 make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the
527 whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister,
535 or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a
[872] special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance.

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857
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The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857
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A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857
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One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . .," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857
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857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy
to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and
hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings.
[593] They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[155] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds
that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his
infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on
these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is
richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported
how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up
floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really
do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like
to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report
these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the
potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket.
Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' in-
structions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Gen-
erally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to
be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who
has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty car-
rying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his
grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little
formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grand-
mothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them.
Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not in-
frequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the
yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the
one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old
enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, sneers the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and 863 [515] [854] [296]

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515 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was present at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During [857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1 year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
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can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience.

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered.

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain,

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865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in
Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone
unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult
look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression
by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In
this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the
boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well
as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the
children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort
more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed
later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys
toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children toler-
ated.

[24] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that
they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits
you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist)
will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the
mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents
disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways
adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy
they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them
bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit.
They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams
and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger.
Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates
by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing
is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not
exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize
and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months,
altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to
socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and
sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of chil-
dren that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings
at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any
more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently
arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

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too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other.

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically.

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade.

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is

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858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth,
[291] and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yahl Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

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off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872
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SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. [516] There is some confusion in the first-grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it.

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

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872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops.

The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and [365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabus hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

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attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

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872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the
slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door,
looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and
quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up
each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she ex-
plains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care
and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children
without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents
had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their text-
books, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names
and the name of the village from which they came and assures them
that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children
break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk
out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly
spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned
with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a
sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means,
are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting
of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those
with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable
mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of
food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the
girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's
lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables,
soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys
do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and
swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
855 boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher,
good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few
mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The ques-
tioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did
you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting
for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until
2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river. 855

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes." 857 291

"Ail Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances. 857 855

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls. 857 [291]

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to
assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go off to the fields.

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512 At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however,
[855] is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
554 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

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gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme appears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

[648] At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

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they had seen her mother leaving the village with a bundle of her clothes. The child became frantic and ran around the houses. When she finally found her mother, she was crying hysterically. After this, the mother reported that all she had to do was to threaten to run away and her children would obey. 861

Young children between the ages of 3 and 6 who have frequent temper tantrums are subjected to an experience which is apt to have lasting effects. Since Taira adults like teasing play, when a mother needs the aid of a neighbor to teach the naughty child a lesson, she has no difficulty. A mother who was having trouble keeping her youngest son, aged 4, from whining and crying all the time talked it over with her next-door neighbor. The neighbor, an old grandmother, suggested a plan to put a stop to this nonsense. That night, as the child whimpered and whined to attract his mother's attention, the mother warned, "If you don't stop that, the ghost will come." The boy wailed louder. From between the hedges down the lane, there suddenly came the sound of slow, shuffling footsteps. "There, there! Listen! Here it comes to get you!" called the mother to the boy, who had stopped his whimpering to listen. The boy sat round-eyed watching the clearing in the hedge until suddenly there appeared the apparition. He screamed and ran to his mother, who stifled his cries with, "Eh, now, if you cry, it will take you away, shushi!" The fear-paralyzed boy could only nod his head. The next day the old grandmother screamed with laughter as she reported the incident to others in the village. She had worn an old straw hat, a large black coat, and wooden clogs. In the dark she could be distinguished only as a dark, formless "blob" scuffling along. Warnings thereafter to the boy took the form of, "If you cry, we will give you to the ghost." 861 865

A heavily bearded, jolly and well-liked octopus fisherman who carries a large bag and talks with a booming voice was requested to walk past another mother's house when her boy became too demanding. "There, see now, here comes the man with the big bag to carry you away because you are so naughty." As the boy huddled up to his mother, she chose that moment to extract from him a promise to be a good child.

All mothers reported that they talk or scold first, and if the child does not respond, they spank. Only two out of the 24 mothers interviewed disclaimed spanking at all. Usually mothers spanked the child with their hand but seven mothers said they use a piece of firewood or bamboo. One mother laughingly reported that she uses "anything she can lay her hands on at that moment" to punish her 10-year-old boy, because if she did not, he would disappear. 861

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[593] Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sibling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

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857 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chopsticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

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867 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

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[857] Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," according to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

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planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. 861
They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it 593
could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the
cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed
previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a 861
very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young,
up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for al-
most anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a [867]
stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting some-
one, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good
child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and
reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something
good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good
deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind
his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the
child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and
usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned [124]
by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great
deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain
view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged
for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises
mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their
mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried
dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a [261]
technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a 857
child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice 861
harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much
concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without
running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At
the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored
the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door
who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father.
"Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of
us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and
laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, 861
a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and
"naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies
by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the field-worker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

"Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

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[124] Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is always present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

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In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly.

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Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunch-backed storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge.

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Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping.

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Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience.

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TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

[852] Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 857 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the 243 paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults [264] transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and with-⁸⁶⁸
out a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries ^[283]
again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As
she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished
rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground,
waving her rope in the air.

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can
sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and
working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into ^[313]
the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls
until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for
several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood.
But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to
use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that
opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their
size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen ^[412]
imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo
with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby
passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little
girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too
absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother
looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's
hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this,
fool?" took the knife away.

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the ^[412]
yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many
6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences
of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to
a 9- or 10-year-old, "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt,"
but more often than not the child has already learned by himself.
One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a
sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane
he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-
sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother ^[264]
arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a
considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who
had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply.
"I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by
trying it out!" she said.

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other house-
hold work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light ^[252]
a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They ^[296]

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868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping,
rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work
alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult
role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all
girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times
of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve
as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the
household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys
rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males
have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house.
Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge
to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed,
but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the
houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass
roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus
for red coloring. Frequently during the vegetable season discarded
carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells
of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle
shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An
8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vege-
tables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she
slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is
fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited
house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in
which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she
orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up
and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal
is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen
on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is
a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children
shouts. "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she
shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few
of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers,
robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the
"meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused; then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store."

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval.

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

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857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he
spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are
some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys
would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout
one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it
triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue
with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an
important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely,
children learn what is going on in their village from day to day.
Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they
are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in myste-
rious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under
discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays
attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the
latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when
he forgets a detail

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role
in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child
spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance.
It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to
her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Al-
though much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to
siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child
deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what
places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers
on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts with-
out showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother
if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities. 855 [857]

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays. 603 855

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father." 855 593 861

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly
861 in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way
a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the
mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however,
are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male
child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If
father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from
school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard,
study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She
added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch
and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me
with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any
512 other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark.
A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out play-
ing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their
fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even
then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neigh-
bors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however,
that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on
the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the house-
hold are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the
older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who
lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or
aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is
that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger
child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such respon-
sibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic
activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from
school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and
mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of
the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow
of an older one.

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Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. 858 562



Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

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857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which
younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts be-
tween the age groups. The transition between first grade and second
grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually
increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transi-
tion which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency
period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can
seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in
home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already
in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls
exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the
school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime
objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
857 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after
868 a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows
and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would
not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the
other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the
child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not
of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from
these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in
the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older
siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting
grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering
faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child.
But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no
indication that children were aware of this.

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no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class. [861]

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions. 857
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The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys. 857
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The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy; I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are 857
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857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too
much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get
scolded by his father."

[861] The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes
her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped
me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she
would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She
said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one
yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that
a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-
year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch
water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time.
But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever
I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her
girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to,
I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that
her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger
[855] siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted
so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully
to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home,
examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing.
Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the
well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being
seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the
wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings
by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that
she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she
did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done
it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
[653] and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for
school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

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asures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857
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To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
 86 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination
 of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities
 of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community.
 But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
 [124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because
 everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could
 be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother,
 or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become
 father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more
 typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they,
 too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so
 that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be
 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money,"
 and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of
 about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the
 servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls
 wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years)
 said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things
 for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic
 privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed
 by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister
 . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can
 eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because
 she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father
 and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and
 correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate.
 Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but
 her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving:
 "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all
 kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can
 buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I
 can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . .
 Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

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 512 The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds.
 [858] The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

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the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872
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The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872
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The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875]
[857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitive to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

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872 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty
876 lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "Hai (yes)," and when
called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the
teacher just points to somebody else and says, "Hai," until someone gives the
right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has
finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises
his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at
problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl.
Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or
from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in
the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not
everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts
high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to
read out. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There
is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volun-
teers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the
constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to
raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relation-
[875] ship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the
village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student
lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining
control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems.
The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than
parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them
to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild
forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner.
A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence
of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning
and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that
it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his
misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive
measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars
given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruc-
876 tion, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new
lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward
the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then
various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the
teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all
points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson
are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the
characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

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left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations. [537]

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning. 872 876 212

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ- 872 876

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872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
[485] several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
859 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seedling and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by your-
self? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical ac-
tivities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
[358] and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
[241] in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper tech-
niques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situa-
tion and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village with-
out trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training. 864
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In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway." 864
876

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

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866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample.
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

[858] Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.'" None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

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- 866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
876 boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
[858] The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[231] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats,
which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

- 858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school
routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom;
they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the
educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes
we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World
War II rules, a separation continues in fact.
858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls
876 in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard
girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on
them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive
behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without
several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally
a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing
on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who
intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying
on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to
and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be
cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match
in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well
as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at
bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record
(second grade).

. . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts
loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading
aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns
around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

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his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. 858
Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 876

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there 865
examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of
other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team
up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is
a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community.

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, 857
and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent
requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any
students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning
from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers
and younger siblings.

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet
in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open
lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each
other because since early childhood they have been together during
the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for
one another among some children, either because they are close
neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial.
Although these special friends associate more often with each other,
they do not exclude other children who want to join their play.
Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age
becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, how-
ever, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group
starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new
group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from
two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are
composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this
general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has
several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will fre-
quently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger
boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was
usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger
children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Al-
though she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried
and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S.
interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the
age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more
[163] duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a
year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need
care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her
7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more fre-
quently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less
persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly
with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the
same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly.
Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it
would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent.
Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be
annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we
have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful house-
keeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two
5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their
target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of general-
ized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy,
first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then
turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M.
He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me,"
says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Humm, maybe," but does
not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it
away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his
stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and
raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around
him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to
boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score
equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

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the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865
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S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593
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A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

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593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, [865] and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward members of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this 593 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between 858 younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the 866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed 156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

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"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to re-join his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

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857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terrible if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or
866 another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagreements
857 crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters
156 are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the surprising variety of activities that children engage in during the year,
524 innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they call "parent and child game." 524

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game. 857 526 157

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later. 857 524

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157] 857 526

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person,
[871] a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

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the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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